Truth About Nabha.

1923

SAT SRI AKAL.

FOREWORD.

The forced severance of His Highness Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendar Bahadur of Nabha from the administration of his state in connection with the Nabha-Patiala Dispute has come as a great shock to the whole Sikh community. From the facts that have been revealed during the last few weeks the Sikh community has been convinced that the interstate dispute has been availed of by the Government to get rid of an orthodox, self-respecting Sikh Prince and also in this way to under-mine the Sikh Panthic organization which is essential for the Religious Reform movement, which has revivified the Sikh community and which the Government has been vainly trying to crush since the last three years. This booklet is an attempt tolay before all lovers of truth the facts which have led the Sikh community into the conviction mentioned above, and compelled them to determine to get the grievous wrong done to Nabha and the Panth redressed by all peaceful and legitimate means.

AMRITSAR.

9th September 1923.

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I

ORIGIN OF THE STATE.

Nabha is one of the three Phulkians States of the Punjab, named after Phul the common ancestor of their Maharajas. The other two states are Patiala and Jind. Phul was the grandson of Mohan, a devout Sikh of Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru. Mohan with the blessing of the Guru founded the village Mehraj in 1627 after the name of his great-grandfather. In 1631 when Mohan and his people were being overwhelmed by their haughty-neighbours, the merciful Guru with 500 of his Sikhs came to fight for him.

The next remarkable incident that connects the family of Phul with the history of Sikh religion is the blessing bestowed upon Phul by Guru Har Rai, the seventh Guru. One day Phul and his brother Sandli were presented before the Guru as two starving orphans by their uncle Kala. The little children stroked their lean bellies as a sign that they were hungry.

The Guru's heart was moved and he blessed

them saying, "They shall found Kingdoms and water their horses in the Jumna. Out of their prosperity thousands shall be fed." These prophetic words are believed by the Sikhs and the Phulkian Maharajas as the basis of the rise of the Phulkian States. The head of the family had already got the official designation of Chaudhri. As Phul grew up and gathered power the Emperor of Delhi appointed him a tributary Sardar. He had many children, out of whom the most famous were two of his sons, Tiloka and Rama. The Rulers of Nabha and Jind are descended from Tiloka, the eldest son, and that of Patiala from Rama. This family was further bound with the sacred history of Sikhism when in the summer of 1696 Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru and the founder of the Khalsa, called upon Tiloka and Rama as his own to bring their followers to fight against the hill-chiefs, who were troubling the Guru at Anandpur. The autograph letter of the Guru sent on this occassion, dated the 2nd of Bhadon, Sambat 1753 (1696 A. D.) contains these significant words: "I am very well pleased with thee; Thy house is mine (Tera ghar mera ghar hai)."

This sacred letter, with other relics like the Guru's own turban, is preserved in the Gurdwara

situated in the fort of Nabha Bhai Tiloka with his younger brother Bhai Rama served the Guru on many other occassions. In 1704, when the two elder sons of the Guru lay martyred on the battle-field of Chamkaur, it was these two brave Sikhs who, putting their lives in great danger penetrated the imperial guard and securing the dead bodies of the Guru's sons cremated them to prevent desecration. They were afterwards arrested for this and thrown into prison. They managed to get release after sometime and rejoined the Guru. They were baptised in 1705 by the Guru's own hands and became Tilok Singh and Ram Singh. The great-grandson of Tilok Singh, Hamir Singh, founded the present town of Nabha in 1759.

From the above it will be clear why so much religious sentiment is gathered round Nabha and other Sikh States in the hearts of the Sikhs.

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II

Relations of the Phulkian States

WITH

BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

The relations between the Phulkian States and the British Government sprang from the fear of these powers from the growing strength of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the Punjab. The former feared absorption in the Raj of Lahore and the latter wanted to confine that Raj to the northern banks of the Sutlej. The first foundation of an alliance was laid at an interview between Lord Lake and the chiefs of the Cis-Satlej states in the Spring of 1804 at a small village called Tamak-Lodha. Still the Sikhs in the neighbourhood of the Jamna continued to be apprehensive of the intentions of the British and assisted the Rohillas and the Mahrattas against them. To reassure these Sikhs an amnesty was proclaimed in the month of March 1805 by the British Commander in-chief to all those Sikhs who would agree to observe peace and abstain from operations against the English. As against this solicitude of the British, which was of course actuated by an enlightened sense of self-interest, must be set the campaigns of annexation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the year

1806 and 1807-8 in the country south of the Sutlej in pursuance of his ambitious dream of a unified Sikh Raj from Kabul to the Jamna. No wonder then that in March 1808 the chiefs of Jind Kaithal and a representative of Patiala visited Mr. Seton, the Resident at Delhi, to sound him as to the extent and kind of protection which the British Government might be willing to afford them. The mind of the British Government, at this time, was racked between two desires——the desire of putting a limit to the southward advance of the Lahore Raj by ensuring the existance of a barrier of friendly States to act as a buffer, and the desire of securing the powerful alliance of Maharaja Ranjit Singh against the emergency of a French invasion, for in 1808 when the European Napoleon was at the height of his power the Government of India received reports that the French, who, from some time, had been endeavouring to establish themselves in Persia, designed also the conquest of Kabul and the Punjab. So while Mr. Seton was writing friendly and encouraging but non-committing letters to the Cis-Satlej chiefs, Mr. C. T. Metcalfe was sent to the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to enlist his sympathies and to negotiate a defensive pact. The Maharaja on the other hand wanted to make use of the difficulties of the British to persuade them to agree to his

domination over the Ces-Satlej States. The British Government was sitting on the fence and might have jumped to any side. Suddenly in December 1808 the Governor-General adopted a definite attitude of sternness. For this decision of the Government, says Sir Lepel Geriffin, "reasons, which it was then inconvenient to state openly, had their weight. A French invasion was begin-ing to be believed the impossibility it really was; and the desire for a defensive alliance against France was growing naturally weaker. The British Government was not, at any rate, disposed to allow its northern frontier to be in a chronic state of invasion or disturbance in order to obtain a treaty which would probably be worthless when obtained." Maharaja Ranjit Singh "complained bitterly of the change of policy of the British Government, whose envoy had arrived with the expressed object of increasing the friendship between the two States and concluding a treaty against France. Yet the only friendship shown was in the thwarting his schemes and his policy, which was neither new nor strange, while the original object of the treaty was altogether forgotten." The following extracts from Government's instructions to Col. Ochterlony 30th January 1809 is very significant. "As the intelligence lately received of the favourable

change in the aspect of affairs on the continent of Europe justifies a conviction that the project of France against the British possessions in India must, if not entirely abandoned, at least, be so far suspended, as to render any extraordinary and immediate preparations for defence unnessary, *the views and intentions of Government under which your instructions of the 9th Ultimo were framed are materially altered.*" In the Instructions of 29th December 1808, referred to above, Colonel Ochterlony, had been told that "it was to be his special care to *reconcile* the Cis-Satlej chiefs to British protection by showing them that it was essential to their very existence. The protection was at first to be general but would be defined later.

At one time Maharaja Ranjit Singh felt so exasperated that he almost determined upon war, but upon nature thought he decided in favour of diplomatic negotiations, and had no sooner, formed his design of war than abondoned it. The British Government too was non ready for a treaty of aimty, which was finally concluded at Lahore the 25th of April 1809.

"By this time Maharaja Ranjit Singh resigned for ever, all supremacy over the Cis-Sutlej Chief's, and claims to the Cis-Sutlej territory that

came under the protection of British Government. Nor did the Maharaja at any future period seek to evade its provisions which destroyed his most cherished ambition and to which he had agreed with so much reluctance.

As a corollary to the treaty with Maharaja Ranjit Singh the Governor General in Council issued on the 3rd may 1809 a proclamation of protection against Lahore to the Cis-Sutluj chiefs which was as follows:—

It is clearer than the sun, and better proved than the existence of yesterday, that the detachment of British Troops to this side of the Sutlej was entirely in acquiescence with the application and earnest entreaty of the Chiefs, and originated solely through friendly considerations in the British to preserve the Chiefs in their possessions and independence. A treaty having been concluded on the 5th April 1809, between Mr. Metcalfe on the part of British Government, and Maharajas Ranjit Singh agreeably to the orders of the Right Honorable the Governor General in Council, I have the pleasure of publishing, for the satisfaction of the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind, the pleasure and resolutions of Government contained in the seven following Articles:—

Article 1.—The country of the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind having entered under the protection of the British Government, in future it shall be secured from the authority and control of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, conformably to the terms of the treaty.

Article 2.—The country of the Chiefs thus taken under protection shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government.

Article 3.—The Chiefs shall remain in the exercise of the same rights and authority within their own possessions, which they enjoyed before they were taken under the British Government.

Article 4.—Whenever a British Force, for purposes connected with the general welfare, shall be judged necessary to march through the country of the said Chiefs, every Chief shall, within his own possessions, assist and furnish the British Force, to the full of his power, with supplies of grain and other necessaries which may be demanded.

Article 5.—Should any enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering this country; friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British Army with their forces, and, exerting themselves in expelling the enemy, act under discipline and obedience.

Article 6—Any European articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts for the use of the army, shall be allowed to pass by the thanadara and Sirdars of the several districts belonging to the chiefs, without molestation or demand of duty.

Article 7.—All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry Regiments, whether in Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being furnished with sealed rahdarees from the Resident at Delhi or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, the several Chiefs shall allow such horses to pass without molestation, or the demand of duty.

This proclamation, says Griffin, "had reserved to the chiefs the right of perfect liberty in their internal affairs."

The declaration of non-interference was very soon put to the test. The quarrels of Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala and his wife Rani As Kaur produced great confusion in the Patiala State, and Col. Ochterlony-who was in political and military charge of Ludhiana recommended certain arrangements for intervention for checking mis-management on the 9th March 1811. The Government of India in its reply to Col. Ochterlony Dated 5th April 1811 reaffirmed its policy of non-interference elaborating in some detail its reasons for that policy. The reply has been summed up as follows:-

"The Government of India while enter-taining favourable opinion of the measures proposed by Colonel Ochterlony was averse on general principles of policy to take any direct participation in their adoption. This was the first occasion since the Cis-Sutluj States had been taken under British protection, that the direct interferense of the Government had been requested and the reason for its determination was that it considered an adherence to the principle which had been so often and so solemnly professed, of abstaining from all interference in the internal administration of the Cis-Sutluj States, of more importance than the attainment of the benefits which a deviation from that principle might be expected to produce in an

individual case. That even if the interference was with consent of the Chief and his friends most directly interested, yet still the credit of the public professions of the Government would be lessened; that the interference of a powerful State in the affairs of a weaker was necessarily progressive, with relation not only to the latter but to others contiguous; that such interference involved the guarantee of the arrangements which it was employed to introduce; and placed the interposing power in connection with some local interests and in opposition to others; while, by the natural effects of action and reaction, the Government which employed its influence for the adjustment of these foreign concerns would be ultimately compelled to become the arbiter and controller of local administration in all its branches, and to identify the rights and interests of the protected State with its own. On these grounds the Government desired its Agent to limit his inteference to advice and recommendation on points that might, be submitted to his judgement" (Griffin.)

But the Govetnment later on felt that while pledging itself to abstain from interference with internal affairs, it must try to prevent inter-State disturbances and aggressions, and hence the second Proclamation of Protection to Cis-Stalej

States against one another, dated 22nd August 1811 given below:—

"For the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Satlej and Jamna.

On the 3rd of May 1809, a proclamation comprised of seven Articles, was issued by the order of the British Government, purporting that the country of the Sirdars of Sirhind and Malva, having come under their protection, Raja Ranjit Singh, agreeably to treaty, had no concern with the possessions of the above Sirdars; that the British Government had no intention of claiming tribute or fine, and that they should continue in the full control and enjoyment of their respective possessions. The publication of the above Proclamation was intended to afford every confidence to the Sirdars, that they had no intention of control, and that those having possession should remain in full and quiet enjoyment thereof.

Whereas several Zemindars and other subjects of the Chiefs of the country have preferred complaints to the officers of the British Government who, having a view to the tenor of the above Proclamation, have not attended, and will not in future pay attention to them; for instance, on the

15th June 1811, Dellawar Ali Khan of Samana, complained to the Resident of Delhi against the officers of Raja Sahib Singh, for jewels and other property said to have been seized by them; who, in reply observed "That the village of Samana being in the territory of Raja Sahib Singh, this complaint should be made to him;" and also on 12th July 1811, Dussownda Singh and Gurmukh Singh complained to Colonel Ochterlony, Agent to the Governor General, against Sirdar Churrut Singh, for their shares of property etc, and in reply it was written on the back of the petition that, "Since during the period of 3 years no claim was preferred against Churrut Singh by any of his brothers, nor even the name of any co-partner mentioned, and since it was advertised in the Proclamation, delivered to the Sirdars, that every Chief should remain in the quiet and full possession of his domains, their petition could not be attended to." The insertion of these answers to complaints is intended as examples, and also, that it may be impressed on the minds of every Zemindar and other subjects, that the attainment of justice is to be expected from their respective Chiefs only, that they may not, in the smallest degree swerve from the observance of subordination. It is therefore highly incumbent upon the Rajas and other Sirdars on this side of the River

Satlej, that they explain this to their respective subjects and court their confidence; that it may be clear to them that complaints to the officers of the British Government will be of no avail, and that they consider their respective Sirdars as the source of justice, and that of their free will and accord they observe uniform obedience.

And whereas according to the first Proclamation, it is not the intention of the British Government to interfere in the possessions of the Sirdars of this country, it is nevertheless, for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the community, particularly necessary to give general information, that several Sirdars have, since the last incursion of Raja Ranjit Singh, wrested the estates of others, and deprived them of their lawful possessions, and that in the restoration they have used delays until detachments from the British Army have enforced restitution, as in the case of the Ranee of Zeera, the Sikhs of Cholihan, the talooks of Karowley and Chehloundy, and village of Cheeba ;and the reason of such delays and evasions can only be attributed to the temporary enjoyment of the revenues; and subjecting the owners to irremediable losses. It is therefore by order of the British Government hereby proclaimed, that if any of the Sirdars or others have

forcibly taken possession of the estates of others, or otherwise injured the lawful owner, it is neceessary that, before the occurrence of any complaint, the proprietor should be satisfied, and by no means to defer the restoration of the property; in which, however, should delay be made, and the interference of the British authority become requisite, the revenues of the estate, from the date of the ejection of the lawful proprietor, together with whatever other losses the inhabitants of that place may sustain from the march of troops, shall, without scruple, be demanded from the offending party; and for disobedience of the present orders, a penalty according to the circumstances of the case and of the offender, shall be levied, agreeably to the decision of the British Government."

In spite of its better sense the Government of of India did commit the mistake of interfering in the internal administration of Patiala by taking up the matter of the quarrel of Raja Sahib Singh and his wife Rani Askour. The results of this interference, in the opinion of Griffin were unfortunate, and "however well and generously meant, it could only be pronounced a failor." The other Sikh Chiefs threw upon the Rani and British Government the odium for the reclusion into which

the Raja had retired, the Rani's most judicious measures had been thwarted; the troops were discontented and mutinous; while murder was actually plotted in the very Darbar and the for bearence of the British Government openly claimed as an immunity for the grossest crimes. Under the circumstances the Government of India was only glad to get out of the Patiala tangle when in March 1813, Raja Sahib Singh suddenly died and was succeeded by his young son of fifteen, Prince Karam Singh.

The next important stage in the history of the relations of the British Government with the Cis-Satlej States dates with the out-break of the First Sikh War in 1845. The correct history of two Sikh Wars of 1845 and 1848 has yet to be written by some future historian, but here we are concerned only with a definite aspect of these Wars *i, e,* how far they affected the relations of the Cis-Satej States with the British.

The beginning of the year 1845 did not find any of the great Sikh Chiefs south of the Satlej well-disposed towards the English Government. It may be said that the result of the first Brltish Expedition to Kabul had dispelled the belief of these Chiefs in the invincibility of the British power, and also after the removal of

the fear of Maharaja Ranjit Singh by the hand of death, the British protection was not as indispensable as before. But the root of the matter lay deeper in the human feelings which made all Sikhs one, whether they resided to the north or to the south of the Satlej. The year 1845 saw a great national reaction in the Punjab against the advancing tide of a foreign domination. The fierce passion of national liberty, dislodged from all other dwellings, found a place in the crude but brave hearts of Sikh yeomanry but for want of proper guidance and control and a clear grasp of its objectives, ended in breaking itself against the rock of the mighty power of the British.

Bearing this in mind it is no matter of wonder that, as Grffiin says, "In 1845 the feeling south of the Satlej was strong in favour of the Khalsa; and although the Chiefs knew that their interests were bound up with those of the English, their sympathies were with Lahore." Every village contained soldiers of the Lahore Army. The Chiefs were not always able to control troops whose sympathies were with the Lahore Army. Even the Governor General in his despatch of the 17th November 1846 is obliged to admit that during nearly 40 years of British protection of the Cis-Satlej States the attachment of the Sikh population

had not been gained and that their own national and religious feelings disposed them to consider the Khalsa Army as composed of friends and relations. He says, "Every village had some relations in the Sikh ranks, and if questioned by our officers to what regiment he belonged, the soldier usually replied in a tone of defiance, that he was a soldier of the Khalsa Army on furlough at his native home. The hearts of the Sikh population in our protected States were with the men of their own tribe and sect and decidedly adverse to the British Government."

This feeling of sympathy was intensified in 1845 by the knowledge of the Sikh population that the war had been brought on by overt acts of aggression of the British Government and its representatives. The advance of bodies of English troops towards the Satlej contrary to all previous understandings, the British designs to dismember the Sikh Kingdom by helping Shah Shuja to seize Peshawar, the insolent and aggressive behaviour of the British Agent, Major Broadfoot, which in some cases, was disapproved even by his own Goverument, the provocation given by Sir Charles Napier, the Governor of Sind, and the wrongful resumption by the British Government of villages of Mowran and Bains, were some of the main

reasons for convincing the Sikhs, in the words of Cunningham, "that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandisement, and the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore." Cunningham admits that "enquiry will show that the policy pursued by the English themselves for several years was not in reality well-calculated to ensure a continuance of pacific relations, and that they cannot therefore be held wholly blameless for a war which they expected and which they knew could only tend to their own aggrandisement." Again, "the original agreement which left the province of Sirhind free of troops and of British subjects had been set aside by the English for objects which seemed urgent and expedient." "The confident English persevered in despising or misunderstanding the spirit of the disciples of Guru Govind Singh."

Fully knowing the great and close ties that bound the cis-Satlej Sikhs with their brethren living north of the river, and perfectly conscious of their own actions which had exasperated the Punjab Sikhs and intensified the sympathy of the cis-Satlej Sikhs, the English, inspite of the unprecedented circumstances of the situation, took up the position that if the cis-Satlej Sikhs do not act with the zeal of friends, they must be considered

enemies. Too great and unjustified strain was put on the regard of the the cis-Satlej Chiefs for the British power. This action was neither borne out by previous agreements, nor dictated by human considerations. The Chiefs racked by two feelings were not able to come up to the inhuman standard set up for them by the British Government. Maharaja Devindar Singh of Nabha specially felt distressed over the prospect of "his bullets piercing through Sikh turbans." He refused to abide by certain un-constitutional demands of Major Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor General. This brought down on him the ire of the British Government. After the war had been won, this Maharaja, whom Griffin pays an unintentional compliment by calling him "a bigoted Sikh" and a proud prince, was deposed as a punishment and one fourth of his territory was confiscated after the farce of an investigation, "although direct and satisfactory proofs of a treasonable correspondence were not found," and although the Maharaja was able to put up an unanswerable defence. But the time had come when the British felt strong enough to make a substantial change in their attitude towards the cis-Satlej States. The Chief of Nabha was only the hardest hit. For, says Griffin, "nor had the majority of the Chiefs shown their loyalty in 1845 in any more conspi-

cuous manner than in not joining the enemy.' Several most important measures were then adopted by the Government. The first was the abolition of all police jurisdiction in most of the States; the second measure was the abolition of transit and custom duties; and the last was to accept a commutation for the personal services of the Chief and his contingent. The principal States were exempted from the action of these reforms. In 1848 "the Sikh army had again taken arms to expel the foreigners" from the Sikh Raj, and the result was the ready shelving of the treaty of 1846 and the annexation of the Punjab. But in quite an uncalled-for manner the sovereign powers of all the cis-Satlej States, with the exception of the nine chief States, were suppressed.

In the troublous times of 1857 the three Phulkian States gave great help to the British Government. At the end of the troubles new territories were granted to various Chiefs, and Sanads were also issued to them for their new territories. "There were other privileges and concessions granted to them, of the greatest value and of a character which changed materially the nature of their relations with the British Government." In 1858 these Chiefs had united in asking the British Government to recognise certain rights of theirs.

The first was the restoration of the power of inflicting capital punishment, which had been taken away from them after the first Sikh War of 1845, although no allusion had been made to it in the granted Sanads.

"The second request of the Chiefs was that, in case of a minority in any one of the three houses, a Council of Regency, formed of three of the old and trusted servants of the State, should be appointed by the British Agent and the other two Phulkian Chiefs, while, from this Council, strangers and the relatives of the minor should be excluded. The Government agreed to this request." (Griffin).

The third and fourth clauses of the memorial of the Chiefs asked for the right of adoption, in default of male issue, from among the members of the Phulkian family; and, in case of the death of a Chief without male issue and without having adopted an heir, that the two remaining Chiefs should have power to elect a successor from the same family. These arrangements were necessary to guarantee the continuity of their rule. The Governor General was opposed to the sanctioning of these two rights, but the Home Government decided in favour of the Chiefs.

The fifth request sanctioned was that no women should have admission into the Council

of Regency or have any participation in affairs of state either on the ground of the youth of the Chief, or any other pretext whatever.

In January 1860 Lord Canning, the Viceroy Governor General, held a Durbar at Ambala for the reception of the Chiefs of the cis-Satlej States and announced the granting of Sanads, which were given to the Maharajas on the 5th of May 1860, confirming to them all their territories, ancestral and acquired, and acknowledging other important rights of theirs.

As we are at present concerned with the Nabha State, the Nabha treaties are reproduced below, which are very much like those granted to Patiala and Jind. The first is a more explicit and personal assurance sought and obtained by Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha in 1810 about the points touched in the Proclamation of 3rd May 1809, by which the Chiefs were taken under British protection. The second is the famous Sanad of 1860. The Third is the important Sanad about the right of adoption. The fourth is a Sanad making a grant of certain territorry in lieu of a loan of nine and a half lakhs with interest which the British Government had taken from the Nabha State. The treaties are given below.

NABHA TREATIES.

No. XCVII.

Requests on the part of the Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha and the Governor-General's Replies.

1810.

1st.—That Tribute and Nuzzerana be remitted.

Agreeably to the Proclamation, issued by Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony in 1809 which declares that the country of the Chiefs of Malva and Sirhind comprehended between the Sutludge and Jamna Rivers shall be exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government, no tribute or Nuzzerana will ever be demanded.

2ndly.—That under the auspices of the Honourable Company my power and authority in my own territories shall continue to be exercised by me according to established usage.

Rajah Jeswunt Singh of Nabha shall continue to exercise the same power and authority within the limits of his own territory which he has enjoyed since he has been received under the protection of the British Government.

3rdly.—That under the protection and with the support of the British Government, I shall continue to hold possession of my country, as I held it from the first to the present time, unmolested by any one.

Rajah Jeswunt Singh shall continue in the occupation of all the lands which he possessed at the period of the last expedition of the Rajah of Lahore across the Sutludge.

4thly.—With respect to the grant of a Jageer such as was conferred on my Brethren by Lord Lake after his Lordship's return to Delhi in reward of their services during the contest with Holkar, I hope that Government will now manifest its favour and liberality towards me, as I was prevented by indisposition from attending his Lordship at the same time with the other Chiefs.

The Governor-General refers Rajah Jeswunt Singh to the letter which was addressed to him by Lieutenant—Colonel Ochterlony on the 6th of February 1809, as containing his Lordship's sentiment on the subject of this request.

5thly.—The British Government is my asylum. I am hopeful, therefore, that the circumstances of my sincere attachment and devotion will be viewed with a favourable eye.

The British Government considers Rajah Jeswunt Singh to be among the number of its faithful friends and well-wishers, and he may rely with confidence on the continuance of its favour and protection so long as his conduct shall continue to be regulated by the principles of attachment and obedience.

No. XCVIII.

Translation of a Sandad regarding possession of territory granted to the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency (the Viceroy and Governor General of India.)

Dated 5th May 1860.

Whereas since the day of the rise of the sun of the everlasting British Empire and supremacy in this country of India, the acts of loyalty and devotion to Government of Farzand-Arjumand-i-Akidat-Paiwand-i-daulat-i-Inglishia Barar-bans. Shirmor Raja Bharpur Singh Malwindra Bahadur and Raja Jaswant Singh Sahib grandfather of the said Raja Sahib were in former times fully conspicuous, particularly in the year 1857, A. D., the Raja Sahib Bahadur rendered and displayed worthy and conspicuous services which surpassed his previous achievement. Therefore, in recognition of such approved services, the powerful British Govern-

ment, by way of Royal favour and kindness, has conferred on the Raja Sahib Malwindra Bahadur some territory and additional title for generation after generation and descendant after descendant. The Raja Sahib Bahadur has applied for a renewal of the Sanad regarding his ancestral territory as well as that granted to him by the powerful Government. In view of this His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General is pleased to approve of the grant of the present Sanad by way of treaty with the conditions entered below as a memorable document:—

Clause I.

According to the list annexed to this Sanad, the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors will, in the present and future time, exercise sovereignty, with peace in mind and in perfect security, in accordance with ancient custom, over his ancestral possessions and the dominions bestowed on him by the British Government and consider the territory granted to him by the British Government in recognition of his good services as his ancestral territory with all powers and rights, internal and external. All powers great and small, administrative and criminal and in respect of the produce of revenue, etc., will as heretofore remain permanently vested in the power and the control of the

Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur and his successors generation after generation and descendant after descendent in present and in future for ever and in perpetuity ; and (his) brothers, Zaildars, Chaharumians (persons entitled to a fourth share) feudatories, Jagirdars and dependants will, according to old custom, obey the orders and commands of the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors.

CLAUSE II.

The powerful British Government will not demand or exact anything on account of Nazrana, land revenue, administrative or criminal cesses, compensation on account of troops, etc., or on any other plea whatever, in the present or future, from the Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur, his successors, dependants, brothers, Zaildars, Jagirdars, Chaharumians, or feudatories except as provided in Clause III.

CLAUSE III.

As an additional Royal Favour and having regard to the loyalty and devotion of the Raja Sahib Bahadur the powerful Government desires that this territory should always remain under the sovereignty of this family. Therefore, the power of adoption is granted for ever to the said Raja Sahib and his successors so that in case there is no

lineal descendant, they may, for the purpose of perpetuating the line of Chiefship, adopt a successor, according to their own choice from among the descendants of the Phulkian family. The powerful Government cordially accepts and agrees to this. The powerful Government also grants permission that in case, may God forbid, the Raja on the Masnad suddenly die, without leaving a lineal descendant or an adopted successor, the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala and the Raja Sahib of Jind, in concert with the Commissioner Sahib Bahadur, may select a successor from among the Phulkian family and place him on the Masnad. In that case Nuzzrana to the extent of one-third of the income of the State for one year will be paid into the Treasury of the British Government by the Nabha State.

Clause IV.

Formerly regarding the infliction of capital punishment, etc., a reference to the Commissioner Sahib Bahadur used to be made. Now this practice has been stopped, and in future full authority for inflicting capital punishment, etc., in his own territory according to the old custom is granted in perpetuity to Raja Sahib Malwinder Bahadur and his successors. Similarly with regard to punishing subjects of the powerful British Government

committing crime and apprehended in the territory of the Nabha State, 'the Raja Sahib Bahadur and his successors are granted power in accordance with the provisions of the despatch No. 3, dated 1st June 1836, from the Hon'ble Court of Directors at the Capital, London. The Raja Sahib Bahadur will exert himself by every possible means in promoting the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and injured in the proper way. He will prevent in his territory female infanticide, SATTI and slavery, which are opposed to the principles of justice and equity towards the people. In the event of any person at any time committing the above-mentioned prohibited crimes without the knowledge of the officials of the Raja Sahib Bahadur, the latter will inflict deterrent punishment on him.

Clause V.

The Raja Sahib and his successors will never fail in their faithful ond devoted obedience to the Empress, Queen of England and her successors.

Clause VI.

If at any time any hostile troops with mischievous intention should appear in his neighbourhood from any side or direction, the Raja Sahib

No. C.

Translation of a Sunnud or grant of portions of the Pergunnahs of Kunoudh and Boodwanah, District Jhujur, Bestowed on the Rajah of Nabha by His Excellency Earl Canning G. C. B., Viceroy and Governor General of India.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas the devotion and loyalty of the Rajah of Nabha and of his ancestor Rajah Jeswunt Singh have always been conspicuous since the establishment of British supremacy in India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, being desirous of marking his high appreciation of these qualities, has been pleased to bestow upon the Rajah portions of Pergunnahs of Kunoudh and Boodwanah, of the District of Jhujur, containing forty-two villages, according to a vernacular list annexed, assessed at a yearly revenue of forty seven thousand five hundred and twenty five (Rs. 47,525), and to accept from the Rajah a Nazrana of nine lakhs fifty thousand and five hundred. (Rs. 9,50,500) It is accordingly ordained as follows:-

ARTICLE I.

The territories above-mentioned are conferred upon the Rajah of Nabha and his heirs for ever.

ARTICLE II.

The Rajah and his successors will exercise the the same rights, privileges and prerogatives in these

newly acquired territories as he at present enjoys in his ancestral possessions, according to the terms of the Sunud, dated 5th May 1860, and signed by His Excellency Earl Canning, Viceroy and Governor general of India.

ARTICLE III,

The Rajah and his successors will continue to maintain the same loyal relations with the British Government, and to fulfil the same obligations with regard to this newly-acquired territory, as were imposed on him by the terms of the Sanad, dated 5th May 1860, relating to the Rajah's ancestral possessions.

——-o——

Here, it would be of interest to quote an apt passage from the late Queen Victoria's famous proclamation in which we read:—

"*We hereby announce to the Natives Princes of India that all treaties and engagements made with them, by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained;* and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. *We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own.*"

III

MAHARAJA RIPUDAMAN SINGH

Malvindra Bahadur.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the personal career of His Highness for he is a well-known figure in India. A short survey will, therefore, suffice here. He was born in 1783 and is the only son of the late Maharaja Hira Singh of blessed memory who "ruled until his death in 1911, and was always distinguished for his loyalty to the Crown, which was evidenced by his services during the second Afghan War. His son Maharaja Ripudaman Singh Malvendra Bahadur succeeded to the gaddi in 1911, being then 28 years of age. As the Tikka Sahib of Nabha he had served on the Viceroy's Legislative Council during 1906–8 and was responsible for the introduction of an Anand (Sikh) Marriage Bill. In general he showed his sympathy with advanced political views. He was president of the Social Conference which met in Lahore in connection with the National Congress in 1909, and in the following year visited Europe under medical advice and was received in private audience by the King. He also attended the King's

coronation in the following year. During the War the state contributed about Rs. 45 lakhs to various war funds and loans and presented a hospital ship for use in Mesopotamia". (*C. & M. Gazette, July 10, 1923.*)

What is necessary, however, to emphasise is the sincere love of His Highness for the Sikh religious and Panthic welfare, and also his sincere love for the Indian national aspirations for the realization of India's political destiny.

By personal temperament and training and by the traditions of his house, he was given a strong inclination towards Sikhism from his early years. In his veins flows the blood of those staunch Sikhs—Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the wise and brave, and that martyr to his love for the Panth, Maharaja Devendra Singh, and that proud old Sikh, the father of his subjects, the late Maharaja Hira Singh In his boyhood and youth, his father placed him under the tutorship of Sikh scholars. Personally throughout his long sufferings and troubles his inherent inclinations towards his religion have always impelled him in that direction. He has never ceased to dwell with fondness on a cherished belief of his family that he was born, as the only

son of his father, as the result of the prayers and blessings of a holy Sikh saint, Baba Rodu Ram, the disciple of the famous Baba Dharam Dass of Aklia, Patiala State. The wooden shoes of Baba Dharam Dass are to this day preserved in the family as a sacred relic. Perhaps he is the only Sikh prince who can recite the sacred word of the Gurus, quote chapter and verse, and achieve correct pronuncia tion almost like a scholar. Perhaps he is the only Sikh prince who can recite from memory the daily prayers of the Sikhs and who in 1910 in passion-tossed youth and in the dazzling, materialistic atmosphere of London scrupulously recited the five daily prayers of the Sikhs. In all functions of life birth, death, marriage, baptism, he has faithfully followed the orthodox Sikh practices. Even now in the depth of distress in his forced exile at Dehra Dun, after bitter experiences which might have driven some into cynicism and unbelief, it is understood that the word of the Guru moves his heart to its deepest depths. It may be made clear that it is not the intention here to hold forth the Maharaja as an angel or a beau-ideal of a Sikh, but simply that inspite of his human frailty he possesses the Sikh virtue of love for his Guru and his Panth; a virtue, which would be considered so laudable in

any Sikh, and should be considered the more so in one who is placed in the tempestuous environments of princely life.

His Highness has given substantial proofs of his solicitude for his religion and his Panth. As a member of the Viceroy's Council he introduced the Anand (Sikh) Marriage Bill and did the difficult pioneer work which led to the final passage of the bill into law. This was a very great service to the cause of Sikhism, and its full significance may not be clear to non-Sikhs. In the earlier stages of the present Sikh awakening the movement had to be definitive, for much that was foreign and excrescent had fastened itself on the Sikh dormant body-politic after the paralysis caused by the Sikh wars of 1845-48. The Sikhs had taken up many practices which had nothing Sikh-like in them. One of the institutions thus affected was the important function of marriage. The salutary and inspiring effect of a purely Sikh marriage has been a great factor in restoring the old orthodox mentality in Sikh homes, and the Anand Marriage Act has been a powerful help to Sikh marriage-reform. And for this the Sikhs are indebted to Maharaja Ripudaman Singh.

In February 1907 he fearlessly took up the cause of a Sikh Granthi of the 14th Sikhs who had been unjustly dismissed because, while sitting in attendance on the holy Guru Granth Sahib, he had not salaamed an English officer, as he could not, for according to Sikh principles a Granthi while in attendance on the Holy Volume is not to bow to any person of whatever position or eminence. Inspite of the repeated attempts of the secretaries of Government, Mr. J. R. Dunlop-Smith and Mr. J. M. Macpherson, to browbeat him he refused to withdraw his questions regarding the affair of which he had given timely notice. Finally his voice was simply suppressed by the Viceroy disallowing his questions.

A few days after this he wanted to ask a question about the injury done to Sikh religious feelings by the distortions and vilifications of a German Missionary, Dr. Trumpp, employed by the Government to translate Guru Granth Sahib. This is what an English author and scholar of the eminence of Mr. Macauliffe says about it:—"A portion of the (Guru) Granth Sahib was translated some years since by a German Missionary at the expense and under the auspices of the India Office,

but his work was highly inaccurate and unidiomatic, and furthermore gave mortal offence to the Sikhs by the odium theologicum introduced into it. Whenever he saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the sacred book, and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly availed himself of it". There could not be a clearer case for asking a question about such a legitimate grievance and requiring redress for it, but the Viceroy simply put his foot on it by disallowing the question on the usual plea that it would not be in public interest to reply to the question.

The encouragement and assistance given by His Highness the late Maharaja Hira Singh and the present Maharaja, then the Tikka, along with other Sikh princes to Mr. Macauliffe in the preparation of his monumental and world-famous work, "The Sikh Religion", has been gratefully acknowledged by the author himself. In helping Mr. Macauliffe, His Highness helped the cause of Sikh history.

His Highness took the matter of the burning of a Sikh Gurdwara in the Jhelum District in August 1907 by a set of non-Sikh ruffians to the

Viceregal Council and secured from the Government a promise to make necessary inquiries and punish the guilty persons. But when later on all the accused were discharged by the trying Magistrate on 5th December 1907, His Highness availed himself of the Budget debate to expose the Magistrate's judgment and made a spirited demand once more that the matter should not be allowed to rest there and the real culprits should be arrested and given exemplary punishment.

When discussing the reform schemes under the contemplation of the Government at that time, His Highness, while primarily condemning the introduction of racial or communal considerations as "most unfortunate and undesirable", pressed for just and adequate representation of Sikh interests in the event of communal representation being finally approved of; for the Sikhs, who were not men of words but deeds, had fought the battles of the Empire as well under the burning rays of the sun as on snow-clad mountains.

The Gurdwara Reform Movement which aims at the Panthic control and management of the Panthic Gurdwaras has come into existance recently

in its present organised form; though it has attained its present depth and volume exactly because reform has been long over-due, the evils sought to be reformed were very great and all efforts of the Sikhs so far had not produced any results. But Maharaja Ripudaman Singh realized the necessity of the reform of public trusts and charities and strived for such reform in his own way so far back as March 1908, when the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghose made a useful proposal to theSelect Committee on the Code of Civil Procedure Bill, 1908, to the effect that a provision should be added to clause 92 empowering persons interested in any charity to apply summarily for an account of the receipts and expenditure of the funds of the charity. On the rejection of this amendment by the Select Committee, His Highness made the following protest :—

"Before concluding I must confess my great disappointment at the Hon'ble Dr. Ghose's suggestion regarding to charitable trusts not being accepted. I was under the impression that the Select Committee would accept and recommend the clause suggested to the Council, but their Report is quite silent on this point, which is still more surprising and shows that they have not even

touched the subject. The Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu introduced a Bill in this Council in March 1897 to remedy this evil, but after four years it was eventually withdrawn in 1901, because the Government opposed it and wished that it should not be proceeded with any further. My Lord, I made a few remarks on this subject in my budget speech last year, and I need not repeat the same on the present occassion, although I feel bound to say that *Government ought to move, and move before long, in this direction, because it is under a moral obligation to see to the proper administration of vast trust funds, which ought to be devoted to such religious and charitable purposes for which they were endowed.* The present suggestion of Dr. Ghose was *a very modest attempt* in this direction, and I wish that Government could have seen its way to accepting it".

When soon after this Dr. Ghose was given leave to introduce his Public Charities Accounts Bill on 20th March 1908 to attain the same object as that of his attempted amendment, His Highness made the following remarks in support of the Bill:—

"Last week, I expressed my disappointment at

Hon'ble Dr. Ghose's suggestion relating to charitable trusts not being accepted in connection with the Code of Civil Procedure, but I am delighted to find that the Government has been pleased to give leave to the learned Doctor to introduce a separate Bill to carry out the object which is in view. Although the concluding remarks of the Hon'ble Law Member's speech at the last meeting of the Council are not very encouraging, yet we have to heartily thank the Government for this practical sympathy which they have shown in the cause of reform. In the papers about the Code of Civil Procedure received in the Legislative Department an overwhelming majority of the opinion of both Hindus and Mohammadans is to be found supporting the Hon'ble Doctor's suggestion. Then again in view of the fact that persons like the Hon'ble Munshi Madho Lal—the guardian and the keeper of the Vedas—give their hearty support to the proposed reform, and on whose high authority we learnt the other day that even an orthodox body of the Hindus like Siri Bharat Dharam Mahan Mandal have addressed the Government on the subject, asking for more facilities to be given by law for proper control and management of public charities and endowments

I have great hopes for the future and I feel almost sure that something will be done in this respect. I wish the Hon'ble Doctor Ghose every success in this noble cause and I sincerely trust that his Bill will not meet the same fate which Hon'ble Mr. Ananda Charlu's Bill met a few years ago. My Lord, the Bill which will be introduced by the Hon'ble Doctor Rashbehari Ghose has my hearty support".

As for the patriotism of His Highness and his love for the national aspirations of Indians, the unbroken chorus of protest, that has burst out all over the country against the wrong done to him now, is a sufficient proof of the love of all Indians for him, a love which is begotten of his love for them. National leaders like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Kitchlew, Pundit Malavyaji, and many others and the whole of the national press have expressed their deep appreciation of his public spirit and independence of character and have expressed their sincere sympathy with the Sikh agitation for the restoration of His Highness to his ancestral Gaddi.

This was natural, because the misfortune of the Maharaja is due largely to his patriotism and independence of thought. The newspaper "Aj" of

Benares has the following on this aspect of the subject:—

"These qualities had brought on him the displeasure of the Government even prior to his ascension to the "Gaddi" of Nabha. Before the introduction of the Reforms, the Maharaja had been a member of the Supreme Legislative Council of India and in that capacity he always sided with the non-official members of the Imperial Lagislative Council. During the discussions on the Seditious Meetings Bill he did not lend his support to the Government. He raised strong objection against the custom of placing Indian Princes on their 'Gaddi' by an Agent of the Paramount Power. The Maharaja said that he had a natural right to the 'Gaddi' of Nabha and could ill-brook the policy of the Government which makes it appear that a ruler owes his position to the good offices of the British Government. The following incident is cited to show why Sir Louis Dane, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was against the Maharaja. Once this Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was present at the Nabha Railway Station and the Maharaja went to see him there. But Sir Louis Dane went away without condescending to

see the Maharaja at the station. When the Lieutenant-Governor paid his last visit to the Phulkian States, the Maharaja, who could not forget the memory of his insult on a former occasion, wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor that as he (the Maharaja) would not be able to be present in his State on the occasion, no invitation could be extended to the Lieutenant-Governor for coming to Nabha.

When during the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Hindu University of Benares Mahatma Gandhi's speech was characterised by Mrs Annie Besant as seditious and the Indian Princes left the meeting almost in a body, the one single Indian Prince who had the courage to sit on at the meeting till its close was the Maharaja of Nabha. The Maharaja received no personal title or decoration from the British Government. At a Tilak memorial meeting held at Mussouri, the Maharaja of Nabha had not only presided over the meeting but expressed his sincere esteem and regard for Balgangadhar Tilak and contributed to the memorial fund".

In the Viceregal Council His Highness proved an apt pupil of the revered Indian leader, the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale and was conspicuous by

his complete identification with the non-official and popular party. In many a tough fight he stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Ghose. In the Budget debate of 1907, he pressed for better national defence and said: "My Lord, as a Sikh I naturally feel inclined to think first about the defence of my country. I am not going to suggest that our regular army should be increased. I am rather of opinion that mercenary troops alone cannot be relied upon in a moment of grave danger to defend the interests of a great country. Therefore I beg leave to suggest that a scheme should be worked out to create a National Militia and large reserve force ready to serve with the regular troops whenever required. All that I suggest is that a large number of able-bodied young men should receive military training and form a reserve force. It would be a matter of deep regret and disappointment to the well-wishers of the country if the people deteriorate in physical strength and the martial instincts of the warlike races of India are allowed to die out.........and hence I beg leave to suggest that in the beginning an experiment should be made in the Punjab, and it can be extended to other provinces of India, when it proves successful......I venture to suggest that each

able-bodied Sikh youth should receive military training."

His Highness, being himself a total abstainer, laid great emphasis on effective measures being taken to suppress the evils of drink and intoxicating drugs. "There is no doubt that Temperance Associations are doing useful and good work in this country to root out the evil habit, but still a great deal remains to be done which cannot be accomplished without the co-operation and help of the Government......... Their use should be checked by passing some preventive enactment and by raising their prices so high that they may not be within easy reach of men of ordinary means, and also their use should be allowed only at the advice of medical men........ I know that opium and excise duties are two great sources of revenue to the Government, but I may be allowed to remark that this revenue is collected at the expense of the cause of morality".

About the poor third class passengers in the railway trains, the following from the same budget speech would reveal the sentiments of His Highness: "My Lord, the third class passengers in this country suffer great inconvenience in the railway journey.

We see them frequently struggling for a seat in the already overcrowded compartments, where they are thrust without any regard to the authorized number of passengers allowed to travel in a compartment. They are treated very badly and their condition is very deplorable indeed if they happen to travel by rail at the time of large gatherings held at several places in connection with the religious festivals. On such occasions they are not treated like human beings, but are huddled together as if they had no feelings. It is awful to see them loaded in goods wagons with no proper ventilation at all. My Lord, now as the Railway Board have made a provision of 568 Lakhs of rupees for rolling stock for the year 1907-08 it is most desirable in the interests of humanity and justice that the inconveniences of the third class passengers should not be lost sight of, who contribute so largely to swell the railway surplus every year".

When the "Prevention of Seditious Meetings Bill" was placed before the Governor-General's Council in November 1907. His Highness along with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, strongly opposed it and when in the end Mr.

Gokhale asked for a division His Highness was ranged with Mr. Gokhale and Dr. Ghose, in the minority of three, against the solid block of nine English officials. The speech made by His Highness at that time is given below.—

"I may, my Lord, be permitted to maka a few observations on this measure, which is now before the Council. It is doubtful whether a law of this kind would help to produce better feelings between the Government and the people. The bill at first was so vaguely drafted that I wondered whether even a meeing of this Council held in a proclaimed area would not also have come under Section 3, Sub-section (2); therefore it is pleasing to note that some wholesome alterations and modifications have been suggested by the Select Committee. For instance, firstly, that this Act will not be permanently placed on the Statute book, and secondly, that a notification made under Section 2, Sub-section (1), will expire after six months. I had hoped that the bill would be so modified and altered by the Select Committee as to make a silent vote on my part possible, but my hopes have not been realized. The definition of public meeting in Section 3, Sub-section (1), is very wide, so that even all social and religious

meetings may be included, which is most undesirable. Section 3, Sub-section (2), is also objectionable, because the sanctity of private houses should be respected by the Government, and because interference in the personal affairs of the people is always likely to cause much heart-burning. The wording of Section 3, Sub-section (3), is vague and likely to cause a great deal of annoyance to the general public and to the law-abiding members of the community, as private gatherings may be included under it, if the wording of this Section is allowed to remain as it is. The object of this Bill is only to prevent the spread of sedition by public meetings; therefore, that should be quite clearly defined, as in Section 4, Sub-section (1), the words 'any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement' are too wide in their significance. In Section 4, Sub-section (3) I regret to note that no clear exception has been made in favour of meetings of a purely social or religious character; as prohibition of, or the necessity of taking special permission for, religious or social gatherings would cause needless annoyance to the law-abiding and loyal subjects of the Crown. Apart from that, interference on behalf of the Government in the case of purely religicus and

social meetings would be calculated to cause real ill-feeling. For general purposes the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure being quite sufficient, the scope of this bill should be strictly restricted, and in Section 5 all the words after the word, 'disaffection', and also the same words in the preamble are, in my humble opinion, quite unnecessary. The objections which I have raised against Section 3, Sub-jection (1) apply with equal force to Section 7 of the present Bill. The words 'on any subject likely to cause disturbance or public excitement' in this Section are superfluous and go too far. It is not proper and desirable to interfere with the religious or social affairs of the people, and the Bill would lose none of its effects if something were done to prevent needless interference in the case of social or religious gatherings. If the Bill is passed at all, these defects should be removed, and the utmost care should be taken to prevent abuse of provisions of the Bill by the over-zealous subordinate officials.

For the above reasons, I am sorry, my Lord, that I have to oppose this Bill as it stands".

The whole of India is now aglow with pain and resentment over the Kenya betrayal. India

has got a very soft corner in her heart for her children in the Colonies and she has practically made the treatment meted to them as the test of her own status in the Empire. In this respect, too, His Highness comes upto the standard of patriotism. The following spirited plea for the protection of the rights of the Indians in the Colonies was put up by His Highness in the Budget debate of 1908 .—

"My Lord, I cannot let this opportunity pass without drawing your serious attention to the conditions of Indians in the Transvaal and other British colonies. Everyone knows to what humiliation they were lately subjected in the Transvaal, where they were treated as common criminals. The indignites imposed upon them there were taken to heart by every Indian. No doubt the indomitable will of a few Indians in the Transvaal, never to submit to humiliating ordinances, achieved a great moral victory, but that was only tranistory. During the late Boer war Indian troops were sent from here to assist the British, and now when peace has been restored, the poor Indians are not treated like human beings, but as lower animals, It is freely said in speeches and writings that

India is the most brilliant jewel in the British Crown, and yet Indians are treated in this manner in other parts of the world which are under British protection. The Proclamation of the late Queen Victoria to the princes, chiefs and the people of India says:—'The Indian Asiatic is a man with vivid susceptibilities, with great traditions and a civilization of his own; and we are bound to give him the same respect and sympathy with which we expect to be treated ourselves.' Only the other day I saw a letter from General Gordon to a kind friend of mine in which he said:—'Government—There is but one way, and it is eternal truth-go into their skins, try to realize their feelings, that is the secret of the Government, that is a great political law as well as an ethical law, and I hope that in all that we do it will not be forgotten.

The treatment to which my countrymen are subjected should not be tolerated. I think it is one of the foremost duties of the British Government to protect the rights of Indians in the British colonies The concessions lately made to the Indians in the Transvaal are not quite satisfactory. Under the new arrangements the registration system, which is degrading, is still maintained,

It is perhaps the irony of fate that India is now so looked down. The colonists who act in the manner complained of, do not seem to remember the fact that when their forefathers were no better than savages, India was in the full glory of her ancient civilization. If free governing colonies can do as they like we must also be allowed to stand up for our rights in whatever portion of the globe they are assailed; and I think our Indian army will be found adequate to protect them here as elsewhere."

Indianisation of services is another burning topic of the day. So early as March 1908, His Highness pressed for progressive Indianisation in these words. "To associate more and more the children of the soil with the higher administration of the country, both civil and military, is the pressing problem of the day."

There is no doubt that the tension of relations between the Government and the people in India has been accentuated by the rudeness and insolence with which many Europeans, official and non official, treat their Indian fellow-subjects of the Empire. There is nothing which wounds the Indian pride more than these insults, but, at the

same time, it has to be confessed that one thing which has encouraged such behaviour in Europeans is the disgraceful acquiescence of Indians of position and wealth. His Highness is well-known for his self-respect and his pride of Indian nationality. It will gladden the heart of any Indian to read his following words which resounded through the Council hall in March 1908:—

"My Lord, I should be failing in my duty if I did not draw your attention to the relations between Indians and Europeans which are at present not at all satisfactory. A great deal depends sometimes on the commission or omission of little things. Men of birth and position, men who are received by His Excellency the Viceroy, are often kept waiting under trees or in the verandahs of officials. The calls of Indian gentlemen are not returned; and yet if to preserve his self respect, an Indian ceases to call on English officials, he at once becomes a target of suspicion, and is never given a chance of explanation. Indian gentlemen who have to travel by rail are often subjected to rudeness and great difficulties, nay even sometimes bodily expelled from railway carriages.

It has been said that this idea of equality of

treatment is the fruit of English education, but if I may be permitted, I can safely say that to an Indian his *izzat* has been from time immemorial dearer than life itself.

There is no doubt that title-seekers and policemen even now indulge in insincere flatteries. But it can be safely said that the true well-wishers of the Government are those who speak the truth plainly.

Then, again, European officers do not often show due courtesy and politeness either in writing or in conversation to Indian gentlemen. Their ignorance of Indian manners, customs, religions, language and etiquette, which they do not trouble to study, and consider not worth their while to learn, is a growing evil and goes a long way to make their relations with the people of the country strained. Some Europeans cannot even distinguish an Indian lady's name from a gentleman's. There are also other reasons for the strained relations which now unfortunately exist between the Europeans and Indians. Not many years ago the people had a strong faith in British justice, but some recent events are now talked about everywhere, and people draw their own inferences

from them. I shall speak only about recent events in my own province. I refer to two cases which are known as the 'Rawalpindi Rape case' and the 'Lahore shooting case'. In the former a European Station officer and his Mohammadan assistant, who were charged with dishonouring a solitary Hindu woman, were acquitted by a European jury. In the second case a European master kicks his native servant and follows him out of the house with a loaded revolver which goes off, the servant is hit in the back and dies after a few hours. A European jury find the shooting to be accidental and the accused gets only six month's imprisonment. There is a popular feeling that the acquittal in the first case was not according to the evidence, and that the sentence on the accused in the second case was too lenient. Suppose the victims in both these cases had been Europeans and the assailants natives, what would have been the result? Yet My Lord, there is no reason to despair and I am speaking rather feelingly when I assure you that the Indian heart is not at all cold. Treat Indians kindly and sympathetically, encourage them and cheer them with friendly words, and you will find them ready to lay down even their lives for you.

I have dwelt on this aspect of the question at some length, and my plea for for doing so is, that I consider it of supreme importance for the well-being both of Government and the country. I cannot do better than conclude my remarks on this subject, by giving a quotation from the speech of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. On his return to England after his Indian tour, in the course of a speech at the Guild Hall, he said :—

"I cannot help thinking from all I have heard and seen, that the task of governing India will be made the easier if we on our part infused into it a wider element of sympathy. I will venture to predict that to such sympathy there will be an ever-abundant and genuine response.

The un-restricted export of foodstuffs from India has been frequently opposed by pratriotic Indians, especially in times of famine, scarcity and high prices. In 1908 His Highness pressed for restrictions to be imposed on the export of grain "It seems a pity that grain should be allowed to be exported out of India when children of the soil can hardly buy enough thereof to keep body and soul together.........It would certainly be conducive to the general well-being if in times of scarcity some

restrictions were placed on the free exportation of grain".

In the following passage he has given unmistakeable proof of his love for the Punjab and its political advancement:—

"My Lord, before I pass on to other subjects, I consider it my duty to draw the attention of the Government to the constitution and privileges of the Legislative Council of the Punjab, the Province which I have the honour to belong to and represent on this Supreme Council.

Now that the question of the reform of Indian Legislative Councils is under the consideration of the Government of India, I cannot let the opportunity pass without praying that the rights and privileges now enjoyed by the Legislative Council of the united Provinces of Agra and Oudh may be extended to the Punjab. The Punjab cannot be considered in any way less advanced or less intelligent than its sister and neighbouring province."

From the extracts and incidents reported above it will be realized that, though occupying the delicate position of a would-be ruler of an

important state, and so early as 1907, His Highness entertained views and conducted himself so that he satisfied even at that time the requirements of the standard of patriotism of today, and also that he considered an exalted patriotism as quite consistent with self-respecting loyalty to the Crown, though he distinguished between such loyalty and a slavish submission to the arrogance of every European official.

His Highness has not only acted as a lover, and friend of the peoples of India, but has also loyally advocated the cause of the Indian States and aristocracy in the Viceroy's Council. It is yet to be seen how far his brother-princes of India are going to do their duty by him in his present difficulty, but it is already clear how he served their cause in 1906—08 when he was on the Council, He urged that, "The relations between the Government and the States are capable of a great deal of improvement. Nothing would win their hearts more than sympathetic treatment, respecting fully their treaty rights, and giving them *full* independence in matters of internal administration."

Again "Many young men of the India aristocracy cannot proceed to foreign countries for education on account of caste prejudices and other difficulties.........So I beg to suggest that facilities should be afforded to young noblemen to qualify themselves in this country for Indian service in its various forms........."

The two extracts about Imperial Service Troops and Imperial Cadet Corps, appended below from his great speech in the Viceroy's council on 27th March 1907 will show the fearlessness and earnestness with which he watched the interests of the princes and noblemen of India:—

1. "My Lord, now I shall pass on to another subject, I mean the Imperial Service Troops. From the statement which was laid on the council table in reply to my question, it appears that 23 states in all keep these troops. To any one who is a true patriot, and more especially to the Indian princes, nothing can be more pleasant and honourable than being associated with the defence of their country and their homes; but, my Lord, if I am not mistaken, the burden seems to me not to be equally divided among them in this respect. I have appended a

statement which will show that the annual cost of the upkeep of these troops against the annual income of each state is not uniform, but varies from 1 per cent to 14 per cent. It is true that these troops are the result of voluntary offers of Indian princes, but I cannot help thinking why the Government, in view of their passive requirements, should not consider it proper and advisable that a rule should be laid down in this matter, in order that everyone of them should bear an equal share of the burden in proportion to their respective resources. The expenditure of the state for the upkeep of its Imperial troops, in my humble opinion, should not exceed 5 per cent on its annual net income, which will be found adequate for all such purposes. My Lord, it is hoped, that the sound principles that were formulated n the first place by Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdawne more than fifteen years ago, at the time of formation of these troops, the principles that "they will not be swept into the Indian Army or treated as though they were the mercenaries of the crown" will be followed in letter and in spirit. These are the words of Lord Curzon; for my part I can only say that whenever the occasion arises not only these Imperial Troops but every available

resource of each state will be at the disposal of the Government".

2. "My Lord, I want to say a few words about the Imperial Cadet Corps. When this Corps was formed great hopes were entertained. It was thought that a move was made in the right direction, that the most honourable military posts had been thrown open to young noblemen of this country, that the Government had done well in thus taking the people in their confidence, and, what was above all, Your Excellency's illustrious predecessor assured us more than once that all the Cadets who passed the required examination would be given commissions in the Indian Army. This was surely a statesman-like step which Lord Curzon took to solve a pressing problem of the day. Let us hope that this Corps will not only remain as an ornament to the Indian Army, to add to the brilliancy of processions on state occasions, but will also fulfil the real object for which it was formed by the late Viceroy."

Since the inception of the recent Gurdwara Reform movement his Highness has evinced his moral support for this religious awakening by

allowing his subjects full liberty to serve the Guru and the Panth according to the instructions of the Shromani GurdwaraCommittee, the custodian of the movement. He did not join the Punjab Government in the "Akali-hunt" of March-April 1922, when in one week 1700 Sikh workers were arrested all over the Punjab by simultaneous raids, and when some other Sikh states, yielding to official pressure did join the hunt. In the early days of the Nankana Sahib massacre, Nabha was the only state to observe the Martyrs' day as a public day, as desired by the Shromani Committee from the whole Panth. Maharaja Ripudaman Singh is the only prince in whose state and public offices a Sikh could go about with a black turban and Kirpan without any molestation. Perhaps this has been an eye-sore for the Government and this was at the back of the mind of the Political officers when they threatened His Highness, as will be evident in the next chapter, with the serious consequences of his connection with the "Anti-British" Akali movement. To what pass things must have come in India if the princes of India can not serve their religion without offending the Government.

IV

THE PRESENT AFFAIR.

The roots of the present affair lie in the past. The public-spirit and the independence of views and character continually exhibited by the Maharaja Sahib of Nabha in the Governor-General's Council, where he completely identified himself with Mr. Gokhale and other patriots, was not relished by the Government. On the death of his late revered father he declined to get himself installed by a political officer, for the Gaddi was an inheritance from his ancestors and not a gift of the British Government. Like an orthodox Sikh of old, he had himself girt with the sword of authority in a congregation of assembled Sikhs in the presence of the Holy Guru Granth Sahib after the recitation of the Ardass, the Sikh prayer. This one gesture sums up the mentality of His Highness, which has evidently not been liked in the Government circles. Later on the then Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, Sir Louis Dane, used him with great discourtesy, as a result of which the self-respect of His Highness did not allow him to seek further opportunities of meeting Sir Louis and providing him with fresh opportunities of insulting His Highness. The consequent inability

of His Highness to extend an invitation to Sir Louis to visit the Nabha State gave further umbrage to the Lieutenant-Governor. Thence forward some personal element got mixed up with the attitude of the Punjab Government towards His Highness; and this was handed down to Sir Louis Dane's successor, Sir Michael O'dwyer. It does not need a prophet to foretell how a fearless and patriotic Maharaja would appear in the eyes of Sir Michael O'dwyer of the Martial Law fame. Sir Machael took up the thread where Sir Louis had left it. On account of the tradition bequeathed by his predecessor, Sir Michael saw every action of His Highness in a peculiar light, so that the personal element in the attitude of the Panjab Government became further accentuated. The remarkable services of His Highness and his State in the last war have been acknowledged even by the Anglo-Indian paper of Lahore, the "Civil and Military Gazette," as is evidenced by the passage quoted in the beginning of the third chapter. But, all the same His Highness could not please Sir Michael O'dwyer because His Highness did not agree with all the methods of Sir Michael for pushing on the war preparations.

From the above one will not wonder if one is told that already more than one serious effort

was made in the past by the Punjab Government to injure the status of His Highness. Fortunately these efforts did not succeed.

All the pent-up wrath of the official circles at last found a vantage-hole in the recent Patiala Nabha dispute. The territories of the two States are not merely contiguous, but literally dove-tailed into each-other. In some cases one State has got an island of territory surrounded on all sides by dominion of the other State. Thus occasions for friction between the two States are numerous, especially in view of the unfortunate proverbial jealousy of the Indian States. Disputes have arisen in the past between Patiala and Nabha as they would between any two neighbours. But in the past disputes had a happy knack of easily settling themselves or dying of inanity ; and if they were at all referred to a third party, that party had no axe of its own to grind. But the present dispute seemed to have developed a strange persistency not to get settled. It was an evil day when the two Princes allowed themselves to be cajoled into referring their dispute to the Government. For one of them at least it meant only falling into a trap.

All efforts at amicable settlement aft— the

reference to Government and before the actual beginning of the official inquiry proved abortive or rather gave a fatal trend to the whole affair as far as Nabha was concerned. In December 1922 Sir Ali Imam who was engaged by His Highness of Nabha to give advice, impelled by a desire to secure peace at any cost, even at the sacrifice of the intrinsic merits of the case, went so far as to actually offer the basis of a proposed settlement. Although his efforts for peace-at-any-price might have been considered laudable from the point of view of ending further disputes between the two States, yet the sacrifices that his proposal entailed for Nabha were so great that it must be said that the whole proposal from beginning to end was misconceived and a blunder of the first magnitude. Sir Ali Imam actually busied himself in seriously considering a proposed basis of settlement which required from Nabha not only the un-reciprocated release and extradition of Patiala subjects and offenders respectively, but an unreserved apology together with the payment of an indemnity fixed by the Maharaja of Patiala and the surrender to the Patiala Durbar of such of the Nabha officials and subjects as might have participated in the alleged offences committed against Patiala subjects, the list of such Nabha officials to be supplied by the

Patiala Durbar. Allthough realizing that even a most limited acceptance of these terms by Nabha Durbar would, to use his own words, "amount to self-condemnation, and a complete stultification of its own position, he still pursued his inexplicable chase of so-called peace. It is strange that the negotiation of such a peace was considered by Sir Ali as the right exercise of the authority given him by his principal to settle terms of peace "consistent withthe dignity and self-respect of the Nabha Durbar."

It is difficult to doubt the legal acumen of the ex- Law-Member, and it is still more difficult to doubt his honesty of purpose. But it is impossible to explain how he gave his consent to such terms, even though his consent was subject to the sanction of His Highness; and also why he and Mr. Hassan Imam brought so much persuasion to bear upon the un-willing Maharaja to signify a conditional concurrence when Sir Ali has recorded his conviction that the Nabha cases coud be successfully fought before a judge. The way in which the whole thing fell through leads to but one conclusion that Sir Ali Imam let himself easily walk into the trap laid for creating evidence which may make it possible to be averred with some semblance of truth that His Highness had made a practical confession and submission.

Sir Ali Imam might imagine that the conversations being without prejudice would have no effect upon a High Court Judge, but how could he forget their inevitable effect upon the minds of Patiala and the Political Department. Sir Ali can only plead his bona fides; and that is all. Another fact that is not easy to explain is the omission of reference to Mr. Justice Stuart of some very strong cases of Nabha.

The only other alternative to the "trap" theory is that the prospect of a private settlement—however prejudicial to one side, was distasteful to the Government of India and hence it did not give its sanction for the stoppage of the official Inquiry—which stoppage was the sole purpose of the attempted settlement, and the Inquiry opened at Ambala on the 3rd January 1923, brushing aside all attempts at settlement. The following telegrams to Sir Ali Imam from the Prime Minister of Patiala dated the 1st January and 2nd January 1923 respectively will show that Patiala Darbar strongly hoped for Government's orders to stop inquiry:—

(a) "Expecting orders of Government for stoppal of enquiry."

(b) Agent Governor General strongly recommended postponement enquiry pending reply from Government. Am returning Patiala.

The Government of India was approached definitely for postponement of Inquiry at the latest on the 29th December 1922, if not much earlier, and it could not make up its mind in five days in such an important matter, so that the Agent to the Governor General, Punjab States wired to the Foreign Secretary, Nabha on the 3rd January 1923 from Lahore as follows:—

"Government decision regarding proposed settlement doubtful. Meanwhile in absence of definite orders from Government of India understand Inquiry will proceed."

Sir Ali Imam regretfully records on the 2nd of February, 1923, that the Inquiry "is proceeding at Ambala without cessation and *thereby giving the two Darbars no opportunity to settle their differences amicably. I cannot but deplore the decision of the Government of India to disregard the strong recommendation of Colonel Minchin, A. G. G. to postpone the enquiry.*"

So the Inquiry was begun at Amballa by Justice Stuart of the Allahbad High Court on January 3rd and went on till about the 3rd of May. During the Course of the Inquiry His Highness of Nabha was naturally subjected to great worry and mental strain. There are very good reasons to believe that in the month of February 1923 when he was staying at Delhi some interested

persons had some physic given to him which gradually paralysed his power of determination and clear thinking. His worries were further aggravated by the sudden and unexpected desertion of a number of his old and much-regarded servants as a result of bribery. The effect of worry, foul play and man's ingratitude upon him may be gauged from the fact that once in those days at Delhi out of sheer mental strain and exhaustion, His Highness did not stir out of his bed-room and went practically without any nourishment or exercise for three days un-interruptedly. On his return to Nabha he was in much the same state of mind during the hot months of May and June.

In this state of enervated health, physical and mental, his officials and other persons of standing, engaged for the purpose of giving advice, whose real motives have been revealed by later events and who were doubtless acting on inspiration from outside kept continually pestering His Highness with false and exaggerated descriptions of the dangers yawning before him and went on pressing various suggestions of the advisability of attempting a settlemement once more, though this time by making approaches to Government with offers of relinquishment of the administration of his State in some form or other. A mere study of the numerous drafts and

up from all sides for the edification of His Highness would reveal the common objective of all these schemes. They had one common feature, i.e., they tended to enhance the personal status & power of those advisers and the rights of intervention of the representatives of the Government in the administration of the State. It was the panic created by these officials and advisers which led to the sending of a scheme to Government on 21st April, 1923, and of another on the 4th May, 1923. Although keeping in view the manner in which their despatch was brought about the value of these proposed schemes was nil, yet it is noteworthy that it is understood that they fell under quite a different category from the present forced severance, inasmuch as those schemes contemplated only temporary and short-lived absence of His Highness from the State, ultimate resumption being definitely intended. Moreover recuperation of health was the main object.

The State officials further kept urging upon him the necessity of attempting a settlement by meeting the Political Agent, Col. Minchin, and supported the suggestions with imperfectly veiled threats. It could be suspected that these suggestions and threats really proceeded from the Political officials-Mr. J.P. Thompson the "right-hand man" of Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Political Secretary to the Government of India, and

Lt. Col. Minchin the Agent to the Governor-General, Punjab States. No wonder, then, that His Highness was brought round by threats of danger to write to the A. G. G. inviting him to Nabha for an exchange of views, and on the latter's expressing his inability to go to Nabha and fixing the 5th of June 1923 for an interview at Kasauli, the State officials did not rest till they had seen him leaving for Kasauli.

The enemies of Maharaja Ripudaman Singh won their first victory when they succeeded in imposing upon Sir Ali Imam; they scored another victory when they succeeded in forcing His Highness into an interview with Col. Minchin at Kasauli on 5th June, 1923, in order to enable that capable A. G. G. to open the compaign of official intimidation. It is absolutely untrue what is stated in the Government communiquè of 7th July that His Highness sought an interview with the Agent *of his own free-will and accord* and that in the interview His Highness "*voluntarily expressed his willingness to sever his connection with the State.*" The fact is that by an insidious campaign of threats his officials and others of questionable integrity rushed him into meeting the Agent, and that in that meeting the Agent urged him to abdicate and threatened worse consequences if he did not. His Highness refused to do so, and preferred a reference to the Viceroy. *But the Agent refused to entertain this suggestion*, which is very significant,

and asked His Highness to let him have a reply by the morning of the 7th June, at the latest.

What little determination was left in the Maharaja in that state of health and in those unusual circumstances of the situation was undermined by his inspired and interested officials, who took up exactly the same line of threatening as the Agent and with their unanimity and their importunity succeeded in making him feel that some approximation to the demands of the Agent was the only alternative left; for instance, the entrusting of the administration to *Ministers* appointed by His Highness in consultation with the Government of India, and such arrangement to be in force for a fairly long time. Information of this successful impressing of the Maharaja was conveyed to the Agent by Mr. D. M. Narasingarao, the Chief Minister, and Mr. Sen, the Foreign Minister, of Nabha State, who went to Kasauli on the 7th June as required by the Agent. According to the report of this interview by these two officials, *the Agent demanded that the State should be handed over to the British Government, who would appoint a Civilian Officer to administer the State till the Tikka Sahib attained majority*. He added, "the papers of some cases for future inquiry had reached the Viceroy who, however, had not been able to see them owing to pressure of work. Once he sees them and passes orders, *even abdication would be too late*. The Viceroy might pass orders on any day and hence the extreme

urgency in the matter. He thought *that deposition and something like imprisonment were most likely, but the Government of India had given a chance to H. H. for private settlement merely with a view to avoid the odium of punishing a ruler.* This was *the last chance and it would be only until day-after-to-morrow, i.e., 9th instant.* They should return immediately and acquaint H. H. with the utmost seriousness and extreme urgency of the matter." As if maintaining all the while that the main issue was some quarrel which he, the Agent, imagined that the British Government had with the Maharaja, to settle which a submission the part of the Maharaja to the Agent's demands mentioned above was necessary, the Agent went on to say, "it is necessary *at the same time* to settle differences with Patiala by accepting Sir Ali Imam's terms and also paying an indemnity to Patiala. He wished, in view of extreme urgency, that they should follow him to Simla so that he may take them to Mr. Thompson, Political Secretary to the Government of India." So when Messrs. Rao and Sen met the Agent in the afternoon of the same day at Simla, he said to them he had already seen Mr. Thompson and ascertained his views, the trend of which was to further stiffen the terms demanded by the Agent. His Highness was to have no voice in any State appointments and *could not visit Nabha without permission.* He could not be allowed a house at Simla as *it was not considered desirable that he should*

live in the Punjab. His son may see him *occasionally*, but the boy should be *independent of association* with him Mr. Thompson also wished to fix the indemnity payable to Patiala at 40 lakhs; Patiala, he stated, having spent as much as 30 lakhs in connection with the Inquiry. The disparity between the figures of Mr. Thampson and the sum of 50 lakhs later estimated by Government as the maximum amount for the indemnity is difficult to reconcile, leaving aside the question of the propriety of the estimate of 30 lakhs advanced by Patiala as their expenses on the Inquiry. The Agent continued, says the report, "These arrangements must take effect *immediately, i. e.* within 4 or 5 days, otherwise His Excellency would pass orders in ten days." Therefore he wanted that His Highness should reach Kasauli on *the morning of the 9th June, if not earlier*, and give the Agent documents in his own hand-writing about *settlement with the Government of India and Patiala.*

Here it is necessary to attend to a fact which is both important and remarkable. There is not the least reference, direct or indirect, to any other complaints against the Maharaja in the Resolution of the Government of India on Mr. Justice Stuart's Inquiry and the severance of the Maharaja from Nabha State. nor in the Government communique of July 7 based on the Resolution The Government of India has confined itself to the inter-state dispute. But, on the contrary, from the very first meeting between His

Highness and the Agent on the 5th June, Col. Minchin has throughout been following a preposterous method in dealing with His Highness and his affairs. Not only did the Agent drag in false, imaginary and, as far as the matter in question was concerned, absolutely irrelevant grievances of the Government against the Maharaja, but he had the audacity to require what he called a settlement with the Government of India *in priority* to what was the real issue, i.e., settlement with Patiala. This speaks volumes about the objective and the methods of the Political Department in this affair. The tenacity of purpose and the sustained effor of Col. Minchin, in constantly keeping before the Maharaja's eye the primary necessity of settling his accounts, as it were, with the Government of India, and at the same time continually threatening the disasterous consequences of not doing so, contrast so strangely with the silence of the Government of India about any such matter in official documents. It may, however, be safely assumed that if the Government had any such complaints against the Maharaja and wanted a settlement of these as well as of the inter-state dispute, they would have somewhere made some reference to it in their Resolution or Communique or stated them directly or officially.

It is not to be wondered that the combined efforts and threats of his officials within the State and the Government officials outside drove His Highness, in the condition of health, physical and mental, in which

he was at the time, to meet the Agent again on the 9th June at Kasauli as demanded by the Agent. The Agent had wired to His Highness on 8th June urging that "immediate action was essential." Not content with this he wired again on the 9th June requiring His Higness to wire his decision, "*otherwise matters will take their course.*"

When His Highness had been in this way driven into the presence of the Agent at Kasauli on the 9th June, then to crown all threats the Agent faced him with a cypher telegram from Mr. Thompson, Political Secretary to Government of India, dated July 7 Simla, and described it as conveying the ORDERS OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY to demand the terms detailed therein from His Highness, failing the acceptance of which terms most serious consequences would follow for His Highness. The Agent placed before His Highness a draft statement purporting not only the surrender of his State but something worse, and said that it had been drawn up in accordance with the telegraphic orders o. the Viceroy, and required His Highness to sign that statement. That was the last straw. With a few verbal emendations it was got signed from the Maharaja.

Here the question arises what the reality of these mysterious orders of the Viceroy is. We should wait till His Excellency the Viceroy has taken the public into his confidence and explained the reality of that cypher telegram. It is much to be desired that His

Excellency should now break the vow of silence that he has so far observed against the challenge of the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee dated 2nd August, and either admit the truth or nail the contentions of the Committee to the counter.

To resume the thread of our narrative, the Agent rot just at what he achieved on the 9th June, but he sent for Messrs. Rao and Sen the next morning, i. e. 10th June, and dictated further terms amounting practically to divesting His Highness more or less completely of nearly all his property and funds. The Agent threatened that if the new and additional terms were not accepted, the letter of the 9th June would be cancelled and the whole thing would fall through, and that all those serious consequences that he had been threatening would then ensue. This paper, too, His Highness was forced to sign by Col. Minchin who wrote peremptorily, "the matter must be settled at once," and further that the letter required by him must be signed by the Maharaja "*in front of him.*" He himself came down to the place where the Maharaja was putting up, and there repeated the same threats and eventually got the letter signed.

The growing success of the efforts to ruin him prostrated the Maharaja more than ever before. At the same time there are very good reasons to believe that his officials corresponded secretly with the officials of the Political Department and discussed with them without his authority important and confi-

dential matters of his State, and received encouragement from them in various forms. This also applies to Mr. O'Grady, an employee of His Highness, who appears later on the scene in this affair, but makes up for all his late-coming by the rapidity with which he precipitates the end, and for which he gets congratulations from a high political officer of the Government of India. Not only that, it is an open secret now that some very high officials of the Nabha State were regularly submitting secret reports to the Political Officers. This back-door collusion of the representatives of the Government of India with the employees of an allied State can scarcely be called an honourable business. This belief is further strengthened by the disproportionate advancement conferred by the New Administration of Nabha on some of those officials of His Highness, and also by those officials coming out from behind the veil into the open to assist in the campaign now started in Nabha to defame His Highness by making false fabrications against him. Therefore after his visit to Kasauli on the 9th June, whenever His Highness mustered up resolution to think of means of remedying the blunder which he had been forced to commit by putting his signature to the letters of the 9th and 10 June, his officials conjured up studiously before his eyes, with added apprehensions, all the consequences threatened by the Agent. Nay, the State officials even urged him to fetter his liberty of movement

and commit himself before the Government of India to the promise that he would leave India only with their permission and that he would not "raise any question with the authorities in England about his State or his status." These and other suggestions of those officials strangely made appearance among the conditions which His Highness was later confronted with by the Agent in his letter dated the 28th June. It is difficult to resist the temptation of concluding that the draft proposals of the State officials were wholly inspired by the Political Department.

While this struggle between the sedulously insolated and enervated ruler of Nabha on the one hand and the solid phalanx of disingenuous State officials strong in the consciousness of the powerful Political backing behind them on the other, was going on, the Agent wired on the 27th June desiring Mr. Rao to see him at Kasauli "urgently" about "extremly important matters." Messrs. Rao and Atma Ram, the Naib Dewan, went to see him on the 9th June when Col Minchin handed to Mr. Rao a signed letter which laid down the conditions imposed by the Government of Iudia, further stiffened by the Secretary of State for India. Col. Minchin, according to the report of that interview written by Mr. Rao, Chief Minister, said "that the matter was most emergent and that the Government of India had every thing cut and dry now." "He wished to have a letter from H. H. to the effect that he agrees with the ten conditions *imposed* by the Government of India, as

specified in the letter, and (that he) formally undertakes to abide by them. He asked me to wire to him tomorrow (30th June) after getting the letter signed by H. H., that the Maharaja had signed the letter which was being sent by special messenger in a motor the same day. I complained of shortness of time He said that there was no help for it as in the event of delay *the Government of India would pass orders deposing the Maharaja and authorising him to remove him to Dehra Dun under a Military Guard.* He specially asked me to mention this straightaway to H. H. to save all chances of mistake or of doubt. *He added he would then take forcible charge of the State and make enquiries against H H. with a view to his prosecution before a Tribunal.* He repeated that the Viceroy had reluctantly agreed to accept the arrangement as *the idea was to make an example of H. H. and the Secretary of State had also given expression to similar views.* He remarked that *even without prosecution his fate would be that of a deposed prince and interned prisoner* with an allowance not exceeding one lac of Rupees a year After prosecution his lot would be much worse......................H. H. should leave Nabha the next day after Col. Minchin and the Administrator arrived there..................Col. Minchin said he had been authorised by the Government of India to take with him to Nabha as many British troops as he liked." The Agent also expatiated on numerous details such as the elaborate surrendering of not only the scrip of the English securities and sale-deeds of all house properties, but of cars, horse-

carriages and riding horses, as if to scrupulously strip the Maharaja of all that was valuable and to bring about deprivation and humiliation.

Col. Minchin's letter, dated 28th June, referred to above, and handed to Mr. Rao on the 29th was conveyed to the Maharaja on the 30th of June. And then the upper and the nether stones of the mill began to move simultaneously with all possible speed. The Agent sent telegram after telegram demanding acceptance He wired on the 1st July, on the 2nd July and again on the 3rd July in quick succession; saying that Government were pressing for immediate reply; they must have immediate answer about acceptance or refusal of terms; that the Maharaja must come to an immediate decision because the Viceroy would await his acceptance of terms only upto Thursday night, 5th July.

To supplement this pressure the State officials continued urging and threatening. At this time some devout Sikhs, unconnected with the State but disinterested well-wishers of His Highness and the State, wanted to warn the Maharaja against his State officials and the consequences of what he had been led to do by them. But as soon as the State officials came to know of this they lost no time in making endeavours to malign them and to hasten the Maharaja again to accept the terms of surrender demanded of him They closed upon him like a vice. On the 1st July five of the highest officials, Messrs. Rao, Sen, Atma Ram, Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram went to the length of handing to the Maharaja a

written document urging him to accept Government's ten conditions, otherwise "Government were quite prepared to take drastic action against him," and "dishonour prosecution, internment and other grave consequences would follow." No hope should be built on the "empty right of appeal," for "the Secretary of State would not interfere with the decision of Lord Reading in the matter of the kind, in the event of an appeal." So, "in the circumstances His Highness should accept the 10 conditions forthwith." In the end they said, they had "kept a copy of the document with them for reference:" perhaps for reference to Political officers to prove their "loyalty" to the British Government. This document was followed in hot haste by another letter from Mr. Sen to the effect that it would be most fatal and dangerous step under the existing circumstances and at that critical juncture to listen to any extraneous advice or to avail of any extraneous help of any Sikh organization, for he was sure that Government would make use of that fact against him. Perhaps Mr. Sen was obsessed with the prospective fear of the Shromani Gurdwara Committee getting wind of the truth of the case and the conjoint activity of the Nabha officials and the Political officers.

As if this was not enough the redoutable Mr. O'Grady suddenly appeared on the scene to forge the last link of the chain which ultimately encompassed the Maharaja. There is something unearthly in the suddenness with which this evil comet flashed

into the path of the Maharaja from the heights of Simla, and the rapidity with which it disposed of his fate with one sweep of its ominous tail. Mr. O'Grady wired to the Maharaja on the 3rd July from Simla warning him of disastrous consequences if they did not meet before Thursday, 5th July. A car brought him down to Nabha, where he gave out somethiug startling: that the inclusion of the new condition of "loyalty" in the Agent's letter of June 28 as contrasted with the earlier document of 9th June was a clever move to make it impossible for the Maharaja to refuse to accept the terms of June 28, for it would be said that he had accepted all other terms on the 9th ahd 10th June and that refusal later on meant only a refusal to submit to the "loyalty" condition. Then the Maharaja would be at once tried for disloyalty and rebellion and as a punishment may be shot. Whatever one might think of such a threat after the event, but bearing in mind all that had passed over the Maharaja up to that time and the accessibility of Mr. O'Grady to the Agent and the Political Secretary to the Government of India, the effect of this threat on the Maharaja can be imagined. His Highness was after all driven to allow a wire to be sent to the Agent by Sardar Gurdial Singh on the 5th July informing him that the letter of acceptance demanded by him would be delivered to him the next day. At this time Mr. O'Grady, of his own initiative, sent

a wire to Major O'Gilvie, Deputy Political Secretary, Simla, under a code name for the sender, intimating that the conditions had been accepted by His Highness as if Mr. O'Grady had been commissioned by that officer to get the conditions accepted and it was his duty to report the progress of events to him.

It is understood that the letter of His Highness, dated the 5th of July, written in submission to the demand of Government, sums up the truth very concisely about his condition of health, the compulsion exerted upon him to accept the conditions imposed and the helplessness to which he was reduced by the conspiring of so many circumstances created round him. His Highness is understood to have concluded by saying that "*he recognised that nothing was left to him but to make the submission demanded of him......and to accept the terms imposed by His Excellency the Viceroy.*" This letter is called the letter of abdication by Government. We are confident that one thing which will definitely settle the question of voluntariness or otherwise of the severance of His Highness from his state is the publication of this important letter by the Government. Let the Government silence the Sikhs for ever by publishing this letter instead of trying to gag their mouth wiih blind repression.

The agile Mr. G'Grady took this letter away almost immediately on the 6th of July after His Highness' signature. However, realizing at that late

hour the blunder of submitting to intimidation and the subtle influences at work against him, and also moved by the grave and sudden consternation of the whole family, His Highness decided to arrest the delivery of that letter by sending Messrs. Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram in his fastest car after Mr. O'Grady with peremptory orders to bring back the letter at all costs. They overtook him at Ambala, but he refused to return the letter and curiously enough the emissaries meeklv took tha refusal and quietly returned to Nabha after midnight of the 6th July. This one action of the parties concerned is enough to reveal their motives and their mentality.

Realizing that the letter had fallen into the hands of the relentless Agent, Col. Minchin, early in the morning of the 7th of July and that he would not let go the advantage seized by him, and observing that the state officials had begun to openly disregard His Highness' directions, the Maharaja would naturally for the time being feel non-plussed. Before he could devise means of achieving the purpose frustrated by the action of Messrs. O'Grady, Gurdial Singh and Hari Ram, suddenly early in the morning of the 8th July Col. Minchin and Mr. O'Gilvie took him, as if it were, by storm. Without apprising the Maharaja they appeared before his palace of Hira Mahal at about half past five in the morning with an absolutely unnecessary, unjustified show of military force, designed to humiliate him and to precipitate

the whole situation. Notwithstanding the official avowal of voluntary severance, the Maharaja was treated like a rebel and a prisoner. It is obvious that the manner in which the possession of the administration of the State was taken is tantamount to a tacit admission by Government that it recognized that the severance was anything but voluntary. It can scarcely be credited that the well-informed and astute officials of the Government entrusted with the matter were so hopelessly ignorant of the state of affairs in the Capital of Nabha State or that they really apprehended an Akali rising, to meet which contigency Col. Minchin said he had brought the troops. We credit the intelligence arrangements of the Government of India with greater efficiency. Col. Minchin himself confessed later on that no Akali had been unearthed. The Colonel forced entry through the palace gates by threatening to fire at the guard who rightly hesitated to let in a stranger with troops without taking his master's permission. An unbroken cordon of soldiers was drawn up round the palace proper and soldiers were stationed behind every bush. Col. Minchin and others penetrated the palace unannounced and went about from room to room and thus showed the greatest discourtesy to the Maharaja.

His Highness was compelled to get ready within a few hours to depart from Nabha on the morning of the

9th July. The same morning a Durbar was held to announce the change, but it is significant that His Highness was not invited to hand over the administration formally in that Durbar, as he should certainly have been invited if the Government itself had seriously believed that the severance was voluntary. Col. Minchin in his preliminary speech in that Durbar used the words that the Maharaja had made his "submission" to the Government of India, as if a rebel had submitted and laid down arms, and not as the Government avows that a voluntery severance had been made by a prince. Again, there is but one inference that can be drawn from Col. Minchin's declaration at the end of the Durbar that any state subject found communicating with the Maharaja would be sternly dealt with. Was he an outlaw being forcibly exiled? In this connection it is necessary to refer to two more facts: first, the strange condition imposed upon His Highness not to go to England without permission of the Government, as if to prevent him from attempting a reversal of his virtual deposition, and secondly, the attempt of Col. Minchin to force the Maharaja with threats to sign a draft, brought by the Colonel on 31st July to His Highness' bungalow at Dehra Dun, purporting that His Highness' severance from his State was entirely voluntary and was made after full consideration and that His Highness did not want the restoration of his ruling powers. The above facts com-

pletely knock the bottom out of the official case of "voluntary severance."

It should be realized that, besieged as he was altogether unawares on the morning of the 8th July, His Highness and his family would, at the moment, be entirely concerned about the protection of their personal honour and self-respect, and find it impossible to make any mention of their desire or attempt to withdraw the final letter of 5th July which had been hurriedly carried away by Mr. O'Grady. Nor did the tyrannical behaviour of Col. Minchin that day leave any doubt as to the futility of any such protestation. They were forced to submit to the inevitable out of sheer helplessness.

After His Highness' departure on 9th July an unparalleled insult was offered to the proud house of Phul by Col. Minchin, who inspite of the indignant protests of the senior Maharani Sahiba violated the sanctity of the Royal Zenana by forcibly entering the Pakka Bagh—a collection of palaces—by penetrating into the interior of a number of palaces, by locking the gates himself, and shutting up the Ladies inside putting a Military Guard on them, by forbidding entry or exit and by starving the Royal inmates. A few days after, to addinsult to injury, he was brazen-faced enough to get a message delivered to the senior Maharani that if he

incident of the Pakka Bagh were not reported to the Press, he would try to help the Maharaja. Such insults as this affair of the Pakka Bagh sink deep and burn themselves into the heart. It is doubtful whether adequate amends can ever be made for such things. This and similar incidents have permanently affected the relations of the Sikhs with the British, and it is no use concealing the fact.

When at Dehra Dun, away from the presence of his corrupt officials and the bullying of the Political officers, and with the return of better health, His Highness seems to have recovered his presence of mind and vigour of will, for he gave an unmistakeable proof of it when on the 31st of July His Highness refused to sign the document placed before him by Col. Minchin, as referred to above, although Col. Minchin used the name of the Government of India, tried all sorts of threats and desperately wrestled with His Highness in the presence of the Royal family. To give him only one day, the 8th June—between the return of Messrs. Rao and Sen from Simla and the second meeting of H. H. with the Agent at Kasauli on the 9th June—to decide his fate, and then to ask him to declare that he had done it after full consideration ; to ply

him with threats and insidious intimidation from all sides, and yet to expect him to admit that he had abdicated of his own free will and accord; to drive him out of his State and to force him to undertake to pay an unheard of indeminity of 50 lacs and then to ask him to cut his own throat a third time by disavowing all desire for his restoration to his Raj——this is adding a grave insult to a grievous injury. Could arrogance go any further ? The limit was passed on the 31st of July; and without pretending to prophesy, we might say that the future will show that Government over-reached itself on that fateful day.

The whole game, as one would now envisage it, may be summed up briefly thus. The enemies of His Highness succeeded in undermining the integrity of practically all the principal officials of Nabha. And the triple alliance between his rivals in the inter-state dispute, his own corrupted officials and lastly some high-placed Government officials sedulously built up round him a tyranny of hallucination by systematic suggestion and intimidation in his condition of shattered health

and gradually narrowed the circle and pressed him, into the presence of the Agent on 5th June last, and thenceforward the direct campaign of official pressure and intimidation was started. Once they had him on the run, their sole anxiety was not to let him rest. He was tossed to and fro between the two walls of corrupt state employees and determined Government officials; and every buffet from each side was harder than the one preceding. At every stage the demand was more and more stiffened till in Mr. O'Grady, in the words of Milton,

"Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears.
And slits the thin-spun life",

The venom of the old political regime of Sir Michæl O'Dwyer's time has combined with the venom of the new regime to bring about the Maharaja's ruin on the convenient and opportune basis of the inter-state dispute.

V

THE CONCLUSION.

It is necessary in the first place to say a word

of protest against the open compaign, countenanced by State and Government officials, which is being carried on in Nabha to fabricate false complaints against His Highness and to keep up a disreputable propaganda to defame him. Letters have been published in the press by the officials of the State, which are obviously of no value, but the connivance or rather countenance of such things by the Government which has passed the Princes Protection Act in the teeth of public opposition by the extraordinary procedure of certification is a significant phenomenon.

It is also necessary to point out that so far as the question of defects in the internal administration is concerned, even the Inquiry (although about that too Nabha has had grievances) shows that, if at all, as much could he said against one state as against the other. But the upshot is that while one goes unscathed, the other has been ruined and denied even a fair opportunity of mending her own house.

To finally dispose of the threats that if the present severance had not come about-rather had not been brought about—then the orders passed by

the Government of India on the findings of Mr. Justice Stuart would have entailed deposition, etc, for Nabha, it is enough only to give below the conclusions of the Government of India which put the Nabha side of the case in the worst possible light, but yet we make bold to affirm that after studying the extract any impartial observer would unhesitatingly declare that the Government had not got even the shred of a case for severe punitive measures, much less the drastic step of deposition. Nothing can be more fair on our part than to give the case of the Government as they themselves have put it:—

"9. Of the charges set out in the eight annexures the findings have been against the Nabha Darbar on six. The Ishwar Kaur case (Annexure III) has fallen to the ground, and in the horse case (Annexure IV), the least important of all, the Patiala Darbar have failed to establish that any offence was committed. *In one case only (Annexure II) was there a violation of territorial rights, and though the acts of the Nabha officials in that case call for censure, they are of little moment when compared with the revelations which have been made in Mr. Justice Stuart's*

report as a result of his enquiry into the six cases in which he has found against Nabha. Mr. Justice Stuart has in the main dealt with the cases individually, recording separate findings on each. It is left to the Government of India to synthetize the results and to draw its own inferences from the features which the cases possess in common.

The first of those features is that in all the cases in which the finding of the Special Commissioner is adverse to Nabha, the Nabha story is definitely false. In four of these cases (the cases against Abdul Aziz, Muhammad Yaqup and Abdul Latif, and the Nabha version of the Jiundan incident), the story has been deliberately fabricated by the Nabha police, and in the Pehdani case, it is clear that certain authorities in Nabha have supported a story which is false, though circumstances have prevented their putting the case into their own courts.

The second common feature is that all the fabrications and falsities have been aimed at one object, the injuring of Patiala. In the cases against Muhammad Yaqub and Abdul Aziz, Patiala officials were the victims. In the case

against Abdul Latif, the victim was suspected of being a Patiala spy. In the Bugra case, an attempt has been made to implicate a Patiala Sub-Inspector, and in the Jiundan case, if the Nabha version had been believed, it would have meant that a number of Patiala police officers had been guility of serious offences.

Thirdly in all the cases in which the Nabha Police have brought into court charges fabricated against persons connected with Patiala, the cases have been prosecuted to conviction in the Nabha courts on evidence which was u terly inadequate, and in circumstances which necessarily imply the complicity of judicial officers in the injustice which was perpetrated.

These three features show a deliberate perversion, by highly-placed officials in the State, of the whole machinery for the administration of justice, for the purpose of damaging Patiala.

Ever since the present Maharaja of Nabha succeeded his father, the Government of India have had abundant evidence that the whole policy of the State has been dominated by his personality, and it is inconceivable that the perversion of justice could

have been reduced to a system of offence against Patiala, without the Maharaja's full general approval and active countenance. It is not of course to be expected that the Patiala Darbar would be able, or the Nabha Darbar willing, to produce specific proofs of this in every individual case. But it has been shown in Abdul Aziz's case that the Maharaja, inspite of having been given ample opportunity of seeing that the wrong was righted, allowed the proceedings to take their course, while in the case of Muhammad Yaqub, *there is a definite finding that the false story in both its stages was false to the knowledge of the Diwan, and it is safe to assume in such matters that what was known to the Diwan was known to the Maharaja.*

10. The Government of India must express the strongest condemnation of the state of affairs which the enquiry has revealed. *In the written arguments presented to the Special Commissioner, stress is laid on the independence of the State in its internal affairs. The Darbar have apparently forgotten that the Sanad of 1860 does not merely confer privileges, but that it also imposes obligations. Under clause IV, the Ruler of Nabha is bound to "exert himself by every possible means in promoting*

the welfare of his people and the happiness of his subjects and redressing the grievances of the oppressed and injured in the proper way". Clauses V and X bind him to loyalty and obedience to the British Crown and the British Government in India. All these obligations have been broken. *The deliberate perversion of justice is a clear breach of clause IV, the forcible infraction of Patiala's territorial rights is a breach of allegiance to the Crown,* and the deliberate orientation of the policy of the Darbar towards the prosecution by force and fraud of the Darbar's own feud with its neighbour is a breach of the spirit of the well-known canon which prohibits hostilities between States.

The Government of India have been unable to trace any instance in the past in which they have been called on to pass orders on a case parallel to the present one, and they cannot conceive any more subtle or insidious form of opression than the deliberate and methodical perpetration of injustice under cover of legal forms. It is not necessary to record here the measures which the Government of India would have been compelled to take in this case, because, while these measures were under consideration, the Maharaja of Nabha

on his own initiative visited the Agent to the Governor General, Punjab States at Kasauli and voluntarily expressed his desire to sever his connection with the administration of the State upon certain conditions. The Governor-General in Council has felt some hesitation in accepting this offer; but after a careful examination of the circumstances he has come to the conclusion that if certain necessary conditions are imposed, the offer may be accepted and that the advantages of a speedy settlement outweigh other considerations".

The depth of feeling stirred in the heart of the Sikh Community by the Nabha affair may be imagined from the fact that on the 5th and 6th of August the Sharomni Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee unanimously passed the following resolutions:—

"(1). The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee records its considered opinion that the Government of India has deliberately taken advantage of the Patiala-Nabha dispute to wrest the administration of Nabha State from His Highness Maharaja Ripduman Singh Malvinder Bahadur, that to effect that purpose threats and

intimidation have been used by Government officials to force His Highness to sever his connection with the administration of the State on humiliating terms, and that this decision of Government is vindictive, unjustified and absolutely uncalled for, even if, for the sake of argument, the charges brought against His Highness in the official enquiry made by Justice Stuart be supposed to have been proved. The Shromani Gurdwara ParbandhakCommitte is convinced that this action taken by Government gainst a Sikh State of great historical and religions traditious and an orthodox, self-respecting Sikh Prince is calculated to give a severe below to the Panthic orthodoxy, organization and well-being. Therefore the Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee severly condemns this move on the part of Government as a side-attack on the Reform Movement of which the Shromani Committee is custodian, and sends its full and affectionate sympathy to His Highness, his family, and his subjects in their present affliction.

(2). The Shromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee resolves to hereby authorize its